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DAN SMOOT

THE STENCH LINGERS ON

In October, 1966, Congress and the public learned that Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas was the salaried president of the Albert Parvin Foundation, which was created by Las Vegas gambling interests and which was under investigation by the Internal Revenue Service for tax irregularities.

The Parvin Foundation called in an influential friend of Justice Douglas — the wife of Justice Abe Fortas. Mrs. Fortas arranged an audit which proclaimed the foundation blameless. That seemed to assuage public and congressional indignation about Justice Douglas's connection with the Parvin Foundation, but it did not stop the Internal Revenue Service investigation.

The Douglas scandal which flared up and died down in 1966 shed some interesting light on the morality and integrity of totalitarian liberals: they would rather cover up and acquiesce in impropriety, or even corruption, on the part of their own than to expose their own to public criticism. For example, the *Washington Post* of October 16, 1966, in a story about Justice Douglas's connection with the Parvin Foundation, quoted a "competent authority on the nation's judicial system" as saying, privately:

"While I don't think this is entirely proper, I don't want to say anything that will detract from the popularity of the Court and give ammunition to the 'know-nothings.'"

When the scandal of Abe Fortas's connection with the Wolfson Foundation broke on May 4, 1969, the clamor about Douglas's connections with Parvin revived.

On May 12, 1969 — two days before Justice Fortas resigned from the Supreme Court (to avoid impeachment and prosecution, many well-informed persons believe) — Justice Douglas was on a plane returning from Brazil, where he had been on a speaking trip, while the Supreme Court was in session. Enroute, he wrote a letter to his benefactor Albert Parvin, counseling him on how to avoid trouble with the IRS.

Douglas said his advice would be helpful in the future, but acknowledged that it would not solve

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the Parvin Foundation's present problems. Asserting that the Internal Revenue Service's three-year investigation of the foundation is a "manufactured case" intended to force Douglas to resign from the bench, Douglas said:

"The strategy is to get me off the Court. I do not propose to bend to any such pressure."[1]

Two days later, Justice Fortas did "bend to . . . such pressure." Fortas's May 14 letter of resignation — devious and evasive — deepened public concern about Justice Douglas's connection with a foundation whose principal assets and income were from gambling interests.

On May 20, 1969, the Parvin Foundation announced that it had sold all its stock in the Parvin-Dohrmann Company, which owns gambling establishments. The foundation claimed the sale had been made in March, 1969, for almost $2.5 million — which is ten times more than the value of Parvin-Dohrmann stock listed as assets in the foundation's tax report four years ago.[2] It was later announced that Albert Parvin had sold all of his stock in the Parvin-Dohrmann Company in 1968.[3]

These announcements were intended to give the impression that the Albert Parvin Foundation no longer had connections with Las Vegas gambling interests. But the impression was false. At the end of 1968, Parvin-Dohrmann Company still owed $700,000 on a $750,000 loan from the foundation in 1967.[4] Delbert Coleman (chairman of the board and presently the major stockholder of Parvin-Dohrmann Company) was under investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission, by the American Stock Exchange, and by the Las Vegas District Attorney, who said he would ask for revocation of Coleman's gambling license.[5]

On May 23, 1969, Justice Douglas resigned his job as president of the Albert Parvin Foundation. U. S. Representative H. R. Gross said that was not enough: Douglas should resign from the Supreme Court. Senator Paul Fannin said:

"This [Douglas's resignation from the Parvin Foundation] does not lift the cloud surrounding the justice's relations with the foundation or his other business dealings. No doubt the investigations . . . will go forward."[3]

The investigations did go forward, and soon brought to light the May 12 letter which Douglas had written to Parvin, counseling him on how to avoid trouble with the Internal Revenue Service and characterizing the present IRS investigation of Parvin a "manufactured case."

This Douglas letter was deeply disturbing to some of the best men in Congress[6] — like Representatives Gross and John Rarick; Senators Fannin, John Williams, and Strom Thurmond — because it clearly indicates that Justice Douglas, in serving his employer and benefactor Albert Parvin, violated the same federal laws that Justice Fortas apparently violated in serving his employer and benefactor Louis Wolfson: the law making it a felony for a federal official to represent a client in dealings with the government, and the law making it a misdemeanor for a federal judge to practice law.

Denying that he had counseled Parvin about his tax troubles, Justice Douglas told the press he "knew very little" about the tax problems of the Parvin Foundation.[6]

If he "knew very little" about the foundation's tax problems, why did he tell Parvin the IRS investigation of the foundation is a "manufactured case"? At the very least, Justice Douglas is conceding that he did not know what he was talking about when telling a possible defendant in a federal tax case that the case against him was fraudulent.

On May 27, 1969, Randolph W. Thrower, Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service, replied to Douglas's charge that the IRS investigation of the Albert Parvin Foundation was a "manufactured case" intended to force Douglas to resign from the Court. Thrower said the investigation began several years ago and "has been proceeding in an orderly way since that time." He added:

"I have seen nothing to indicate any political motivation in the examination under the past

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administration and can give assurance that none exists within the IRS today."[6]

An interesting commentary on Douglas's connection with the Parvin Foundation and on Albert Parvin himself was made by Harry Ashmore, a friend of Douglas.

Ashmore is the man who was editor of the *Arkansas Gazette* in 1957, when Eisenhower sent the Army to suppress a non-violent demonstration by housewives who were protesting the busing of a few Negro students into a white high school. His virulent attacks "against the segregationists" made him a hero to totalitarian liberals. After the battle of Little Rock, Ashmore became an editor of Encyclopaedia Britannica (whose board chairman is William Benton, member of the Council on Foreign Relations, member of the one-world Atlantic Union Committee, former anti-anti-communist U.S. Senator). From Britannica, Harry Ashmore moved into his present jobs as director and executive secretary of the Albert Parvin Foundation, and executive vice president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Ashmore's most notable project since becoming an official of the Center was a trip to Hanoi for direct indoctrination in the communist line about Vietnam, which he reported sympathetically to the world.

Ashmore's comments about Justice Douglas and the Parvin Foundation were reported by columnist Nicholas von Hoffman in the *Washington Post* on May 19 (four days before Douglas resigned his foundation job). Von Hoffman quoted Ashmore as saying:

"Bill gets $12,000 a year from the Parvin Foundation. It's a Caesar's wife case, somewhat different from Abe's. Bill keeps the whole foundation's business in his hat. Bill's the entire staff. He didn't want to take expense money. He took it that way so it could be reported as income. I can't imagine he could net more than $5000 or $6000 on it.

"Douglas is a slightly unconventional fellow by Supreme Court standards, but to blow this up like the Fortas matter is to compare apples and oranges. There has never been any secret about it, and you have to remember he has alimony to pay. He bats around the country lecturing in order to get along. . . .

"Parvin's constantly being shaken down by the Internal Revenue Service. . . . The allegation was made by the IRS that Parvin was using the Foundation's funds to his own benefit, but that wasn't proven. He's one of those wheeler-dealer types."

Columnist von Hoffman himself commented:

"Supreme Court justices get 60 grand [$60,000 a year, with many extraordinary fringe benefits, including retirement for life on full pay]. By the standards the fellow citizens must live by, these are gigantic salaries, and yet apparently they're not enough. They seem to feel they n scavenge the countryside for more dough, while explaining to us how self-sacrificing they are to endure the penury that public life imposes on them.

"Even leaving aside the question of undue influence, which might border on the unconstitutional in the case of the judge sitting on top of an organization hiring members of Congress [i.e., Justice Douglas serving as board chairman of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, on a stipend of $500 a day for services when rendered, paying U.S. Senators William Fulbright and John Sherman Cooper $500 a day for services when rendered] there is still the question of when do these guys get time to do their proper work? If the Parvin Foundation is a bonafide operation, how can Douglas handle it, and also be the head of the Center and still run around making speeches for money while reserving his best attention for judging?"

On May 28, 1969, a director of the Albert Parvin Foundation announced that the foundation had decided to dispense with the legal services of the former law firm of Abe Fortas.[7]

This announcement appeared to be an effort to ease the pressures on Justice Douglas, by cooling

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congressional and public anger over the smelly Fortas-Wolfson-Douglas-Parvin interlock.

But Douglas is so heavily involved in other malodorous activities that the stench lingers on.

Justice Douglas is (and has been for a long time) chairman of the board of the tax-exempt Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (Santa Barbara, California), which was created by the tax-exempt Fund for the Republic, which was created by the tax-exempt Ford Foundation. Robert Hutchins is president of the Center. Other luminaries who hold official positions in it (besides Justice Douglas and Harry Ashmore) are Stringfellow Barr, Linus Pauling, Bishop James Pike, John R. Feeley, Rexford Guy Tugwell.

In August, 1965, Justice Douglas's Center at Santa Barbara sponsored, financed, and housed the National Conference for New Politics, which officially launched the "new-left" political movement. This movement is directed by Maoists, Castroites, and old-line communists, and is composed, in large measure, of obscene, violent, and hate-filled militants bent on pillage, carnage, and murder.[8]

Justice Douglas's tax-exempt Center in Santa Barbara has also helped organize, train, and indoctrinate student militants for the job of destroying the existing social order in the United States. In August, 1967, the Center held a three-day conference attended by about 20 student leaders, many of whom represented the communist-oriented Students for A Democratic Society.

One student leader at the conference (Stephen Saltonstall, 1967 Harvard graduate) was actually an official of the Center (Junior Fellow in Residence). Saltonstall urged students to sabotage American society with disruption, and told them how: immobilize the ROTC, thus depriving the Army of second lieutenants; stop defense research by universities; disrupt college administrations by flooding college officials with petitions, by checking out inordinate numbers of books, by mutilating IBM cards to ruin computerized records-keeping systems.[9] Devereaux Kennedy (president of Washington University student association) told his fellow revolutionaries at the Santa Barbara conference that students should use terrorism to "demoralize and castrate America"; and he advocated "outright revolution to overthrow the government of the United States."[10]

NEXT WEEK: More on Douglas.

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FOOTNOTES

(1) *New York Times*, May 26, 1969, pp. 1, 26
(2) *Dallas Morning News*, May 20, 1969, p. 1; *Dallas Times Herald*, June 3, 1969, p. A11
(3) *Dallas Morning News*, May 24, 1969, p. 1
(4) *Dallas Times Herald*, June 3, 1969, p. A11
(5) *Wall Street Journal*, June 9, 1969, pp. 1, 10; *Dallas Morning News*, June 14, 1969, p. D4
(6) Washington *Evening Star*, May 27, 1969, p. A13
(7) Washington *Evening Star*, May 28, 1969, p. A3
(8) "Communism and the New Politics" and "The New-Politics Convention," *Dan Smoot Report*, Nov. 6 and 13, 1967
(9) *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 25, 1967, pt. 1, p. 3
(10) *Human Events*, June 7, 1969, p. 404

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